

FREE TAKI ■ RON MAXWELL'S GODS & GENERALS

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# The American Conservative

## RULE THE WORLD?

### The Madness of Empire

By Scott McConnell

### Revolt of the Europeans

By Christopher Layne



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CONSERVATIVE NEWS AND INFORMATION

# Contents

February 24, 2003 / Vol. 2, No. 4



[COVER]

## The Madness of Empire

BY SCOTT MCCONNELL The War Party's plan to "democratize" the Middle East was in preparation long before 9/11. Page 8

[WORLD]

## Revolt of the Europeans

BY CHRISTOPHER LAYNE "Old Europe" rallies to counter rising American hegemony. Page 12

[HISTORY]

## The Cruellest War

BY J.P. ZMIRAK Maxwell's Civil War epic does justice to history and to his art. Page 15

[SOCIETY]

## Privilege Before the Law

BY PAUL CRAIG ROBERTS How civil rights led to quotas, and why President Bush won't resist. Page 19

### COLUMNS

**7 Patrick J. Buchanan:** Rarely do wars, once begun, turn out as planned.

**30 Taki:** Officially investigated for political incorrectness

### NEWS & VIEWS

**4 Fourteen Days:** Neoconservatism Is Not a Religion; Our Skeptical Allies; Baghdad and Beyond

**6 Editorial:** Free Speech and the Fall of the West

### ARTICLES

**21 Arnaud de Borchgrave:** Osama's recruiters are hoping for an invasion.

**22 George Szamuely:** In pro-war agitprop, truth is an early casualty.

### ARTS & LETTERS

**24 Steve Sailer:** Polanski's pianist survives occupied Warsaw.

**25 Elizabeth Wright:** John McWhorter explores the "double consciousness" of American blacks.

**28 Franz M. Oppenheimer:** Sebastian Haffner's personal account of life in the Third Reich.

COVER ILLUSTRATION: CHRIS HIERS

[NEOCONS]

## DIVERSIONARY ARGUMENTS

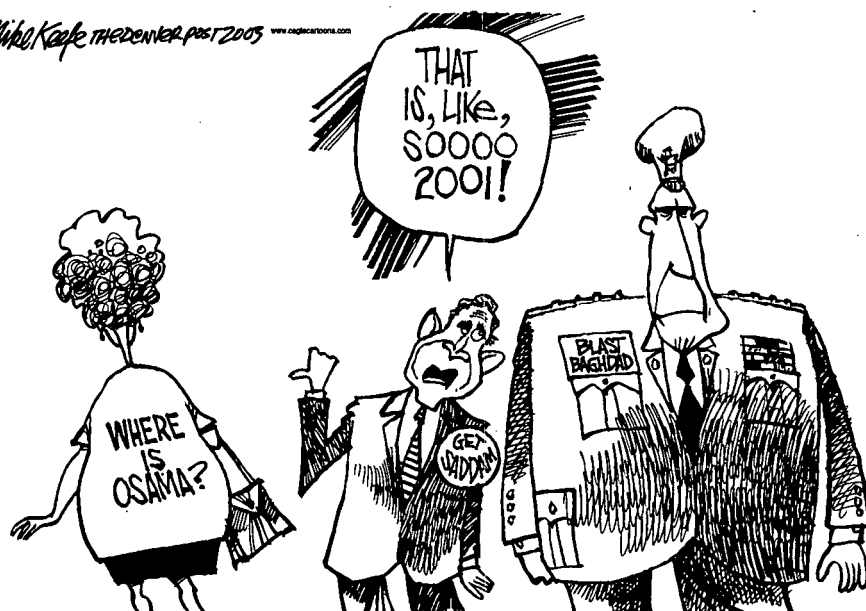
Let's call it the polemic of fools. There is a new neoconservative argument being ginned up to combat those who find their foreign policy prescriptions (bomb Iraq, bomb Iran, to hell with Europe, etc.) downright scary. It goes like this: when liberals or centrist realists or traditional conservatives use the word "neoconservative," they really mean "Jewish." Therefore, their attacks on neocon foreign policy are nothing more than coded anti-Semitism. Max Boot tried this line out in a recent attack on this magazine in the *Wall Street Journal*, and now Robert Kagan has brought it to his perch in the *Washington Post* with a smeary aside about one of our editors.

A few simple points: while neoconservatism is unimaginable without the Jewish Left-to-Right migration that began in the late 1960s, it would never have become the phenomenon it did if it had remained exclusively or even principally a Jewish movement. The initial reaction against neoconservatism on the Right, which began in the 1980s, was quite plainly against a group of interlopers and Johnny-come-latelies who seemed more intent on denouncing their fellow Reaganites than on battling the liberals. The irritation of traditional conservatives about the neocons was far more provoked by a figure like William Bennett (a Catholic) than it was by Norman Podhoretz and Irving Kristol.

Second, while there are fringy anti-Semitic elements in both the far Right and far Left, they count for nearly nothing in the antiwar coalition and have little presence beyond the Internet.

If President Bush seems regrettably more inclined to listen to Ariel Sharon than to his own State Department about the Israeli-Palestinian peace process, that is entirely the fault of President Bush, Christian the last we heard.

Mike Kagle THE DENVER POST 2003 www.caglecartoons.com



Third, Jews are prominent among those, both in and out of office, who are making an eloquent case against this rush into a self-defeating, self-isolating, war. We have in mind Russell Feingold, (D-Wis.), who was brilliant in his recent interrogation of Assistant Secretary of State Richard Armitage in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee; Barbara Boxer (D-Calif.) who pulls no punches; Dianne Feinstein (D-Calif.); and yes, the late Paul Wellstone (D-Minn.). We do not know if these Jewish centrists and liberals have been reading up on Christian Just War doctrine or have taken a yen for the realist foreign policy prescriptions of the likes of Professor John Mearsheimer, but we applaud them. And, we might ask, is Joseph Lieberman (D-Conn.) the only Senator who can go to the Holy Land and notice the horrible state the Palestinians are in? At any rate, he did, and we also commend the wise things he said.

Our advice to the neocons is to drop the smear campaign and honestly confront the arguments that are being leveled against their policies; by crying anti-Semitism, they sound a bit like Al

Sharpton crying racism. As for those (if they exist outside of the fringe web) who may hope to turn the campaign against the war into a campaign against Jews, they should get a life.

[ALLIES]

## WHAT THEY REALLY THINK

A friend sent us the following ditty, which was circulating in the offices of Britain's Deputy Prime Minister. We bet this is more realistic window into the state of British opinion, including that at the highest levels of the government, than the anodyne comments of support given President Bush by Tony Blair. No endorsement intended, especially of the more knee-jerk "progressive" stanzas.

To the tune of  
"If You're Happy and You Know It"

If you cannot find Osama,  
bomb Iraq.  
If the markets are a drama,  
bomb Iraq.  
If the terrorists are frisky,  
Pakistan is looking shift,  
North Korea is too risky,  
Bomb Iraq.



If we have no allies with us,  
bomb Iraq.  
If we think someone has dissed us,  
bomb Iraq.  
So to hell with the inspections,  
Let's look tough for the elections,  
Close your mind and take directions,  
Bomb Iraq.

It's "pre-emptive non-aggression,"  
bomb Iraq.  
Let's prevent this mass destruction,  
bomb Iraq.  
They've got weapons we can't see,  
And that's good enough for me  
Cause it's all the proof I need,  
Bomb Iraq.

If you never were elected,  
bomb Iraq.  
If your mood is quite dejected,  
bomb Iraq.  
If you think Saddam's gone mad,  
With the weapons that he had,  
(And he tried to kill your dad),  
Bomb Iraq.

Fall in line and follow orders,  
bomb Iraq.  
For our might knows not our borders,  
bomb Iraq.  
Disagree? We'll call it treason,  
Let's make war not love this season,  
Even if we have no reason,  
Bomb Iraq.

#### [IMMIGRATION]

### RETURN TO MOTHER

Spain has recently unveiled an intriguing new approach to her seemingly intractable demographic problems. Every Western European country confronts a low birthrate and the prospect of a declining population in the next century. But Spain, with a birthrate of only 1.2 children per woman and a so-called labor shortage, faces perhaps the most serious crisis. In response, Madrid has announced a plan to grant passports to over a million immigrants from Latin America and Europe

who are deemed to be Spanish. Tellingly, the Center-Right government that enacted this policy opposes immigration from Muslim North Africa.

Of course, "labor shortage" is a dubious economic concept, but as the Spanish government insists on increasing immigration to fill this supposed shortfall, this plan has merit. The newcomers would be Spanish-speaking Catholics, many only a few generations removed from Spain herself. As one new arrival from Uruguay put it, "I feel at home here. It's a similar culture. The people have been friendly to us, if a little standoffish at first."

There are drawbacks, however. One million people would represent a population increase of 2.5 percent, and an influx of this size (no matter how culturally compatible) would probably not be friction-less. Madrid would do well to begin more modestly, while deporting her illegals and reorienting social spending away from unsupportable state pensions and toward grants for having more than one child. Still, the present policy is certainly preferable—pace *National Review*—to rolling back the *Reconquista*.

Given her colonial history, Spain is best situated to pursue this sort of approach, but Italy and Germany both have diasporas in Latin America as well, particularly in Argentina. With that nation falling apart, now may be the time for a recruiting drive by the Mother Countries.

#### [WAR]

### BAGHDAD AND BEYOND

Undersecretary John Bolton, Richard Perle's man at the State Department, is in Israel meeting with Foreign Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and former Mossad chief Ephraim Halevy. He's supposedly being shown evidence—unsubstantiated by U.S. intelligence—that Iraq has moved its weapons of mass destruction to Syria. Guess who's next on the hit list? ■

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# Free Taki

We are past the first shock of learning about the investigation of our editor Taki Theodoracopulos by Scotland Yard's "Diversity Division" for an article he wrote for the *Spectator* of London, commenting on British drug gangs.

But the surprise has not even begun to wear off. England ranks high on our list of civilized nations. She is America's mother country, and her history is the source of much that is admirable in the Western political tradition.

The freedom of political speech is one of the bedrock institutions of the West, one of the irreducible elements of a free society. That tradition in great part comes from England. It could be dated to Milton's *Areopagitica*, which argued, "all opinions, yea, errors, known, read, and collated, are of main service and assistance toward the speedy attainment of what is truest."

We are probably not First Amendment absolutists. Certainly we are not among those who think the Bill of Rights requires soft-core porn on primetime TV or that burning the flag is protected speech. Like many editors, we constantly debate the boundaries between the tough and the tasteless. But these are properly matters of judgment, not law.

We have not paid close attention to the proliferation of laws against certain kinds of speech in Europe. Perhaps laws prohibiting Holocaust denial constitute a special case. But then other instances pop up, stories about individuals being investigated for saying things too loud at restaurants, for instance. Such auguries are counterbalanced by a greater nerviness on the part of British writers and editors, as when the world-famous historian Paul Johnson, in the same *Spectator*, several years ago wrote that black immigrants to England ought to be paid to go back to their countries of origin to make room for Asian immigrants. Nonetheless, we have noticed a general trend towards self-censorship and even abject self-criticism by the English on nearly all issues having to do with race and ethnicity. Now we have a glimmer of where these trends are pointing.

Their final destination looks nothing less than the end of Britain as a free society. Perhaps this is overstated: the weight of English history and culture is very much in favor of freedom, and that history is a large barrier for the country's would-be thought police. But if a journalist

cannot write truthfully about the perpetrators of a crime—as Taki did—without being threatened with arrest for incitement, he is not living in a free society.

We recognize that the laws now threatening Britain's liberty were put in place to preserve her harmony. The last decade has seen the country traumatized by race riots, by torturous, self-flagellating investigations into police "racism," and forced into somersaults about multicultural school curricula and the perennial issue of why all ethnic groups don't have exactly the same rates of academic achievement and law-abidingness. And so Britain has decided, in ways just now becoming clear, that the way to navigate these conflicts is not to talk about them. And to threaten to jail anyone who does. No, a correction. Any white person: Britain is now full of loudmouth white-hating and Christian-baiting immigrants whom her cowed authorities fear to challenge.

That the country felt compelled to make these choices of her own free will suggests a conclusion that we are uncomfortable to reach: there may be an inherent incompatibility between multiculturalism and freedom. Our discomfort is dictated by the fact the United States too is steering a course towards multiculturalism. The growth of political correctness and speech codes on university campuses are clearly an offshoot of growing ethnic diversity. So too is a certain kind of institutionalized timidity in the media, exemplified by firings, diversity goals, and an increasing inclination to self-censorship.

At the same time, there has been resistance to such trends here. Campus speech codes have been successfully challenged in law, and widely ridiculed in the court of public opinion. In the past five years, the reaction against those who seek to limit freedom in order to prop up multiculturalism may have had the better of it. Ethnic diversity need not be the purchase of a one-way ticket towards an unfree society. But the troubling example of contemporary Britain puts certainly puts the question on the table. ■

# The Unintended Consequences of War

Rarely do wars, once begun, work out as anticipated. As 1898 began, William McKinley could not have dreamed the year would end with America annexing

the Philippines. Yet, by December, the United States, having routed Spain, had launched a three-year war to crush Filipino resistance to U.S. imperial rule.

By 1900, with his "Open Door" policy, McKinley had embroiled us for a century in the politics of Asia. All this was a consequence of a war begun because a U.S. battleship blew up in Havana harbor, almost certainly an accident for which Spain bore no responsibility.

When Wilson took us into the Great War "to make the world safe for democracy," he could not have known America's victory would lead to a Communist Russia, a Fascist Italy, a Nazi Germany, a bloated British Empire, and a second war far bloodier and more destructive than the first.

When he hailed Neville Chamberlain for risking war with Nazi Germany over Poland in 1939, Churchill could not have known that Poland and nine other Christian countries—as well as China—would end up in Stalin's grip as a result of the war he had urged on the British people. "We killed the wrong pig," he is said to have muttered in belated regret.

But if wars won can leave nations with ashes in their mouths, the opposite is also true. America fought to a draw in Korea. Yet, because of our resistance to Stalinist aggression, South Korea became a pillar of Free Asia, and Japan stayed in the Western camp until victory in the Cold War.

South Vietnam fell in 1975, a defeat for U.S. policy if not American arms. But

that heroic struggle in which 58,000 Americans died bought for Southeast Asia ten years of time in which freedom took root.

When President Bush's father was about to launch his war to liberate Kuwait, this writer predicted it would be the first, but not the last, Arab-American war. The second is at hand.

No one knows for certain how it will play out. Europeans, Arabs, and many Americans fear a U.S.-led invasion of Iraq will lead to a Middle East upheaval in which Islamists, hell-bent on a war of civilizations with the West, could come to power.

Neoconservatives, wild for war, predict a "cakewalk" that liberates the people of Iraq from a bloody tyrant and begins the democratization of the Islamic world.

Militarily, Iraq does not appear formidable. An Iraqi air defense, unable to shoot down a single U.S. plane in 40,000 sorties in ten years, cannot long withstand U.S. air power that can deliver 1,000 smart bombs and cruise missiles on target each day. And Iraqi ground forces cannot long resist Abrams tanks that can guarantee the kill of an Iraqi armored vehicle with every shell fired. Thus the great question: What comes next?

The War Party sees the occupation of Iraq, like the occupation of Germany and Japan, as an opportunity to covert hostile Arab nations into peace-loving, pro-Western societies. Faced with U.S. military supremacy, the Arabs, they

believe, will, at last, accept our benevolent hegemony and the permanent presence of Sharonist Israel in the heart of the Middle East.

The antiwar camp fears that the result of a U.S. invasion of Iraq could be a Middle East that more resembles the Europe of the 1930s than the Europe of the 1950s. Impose democracy on the Arab world, and what is to prevent the new regimes from reflecting the resentment and hatred of U.S. power and Israel now pandemic among these peoples.

In the final analysis, the divide is over how best to prevent another 9/11, how to keep America secure in a world where we are not loved, and, by some, no longer feared.

Was 9/11 the result of non-intervention in the Islamic world? Or did terrorists come over here to massacre us in our homeland because we were over there intruding massively in their part of the world?

One camp, call it the Wilsonians, believes that only when the world recognizes the United States is the preeminent world power, and that any who defy us will be crushed, can we be truly secure.

The other camp believes the way to keep America free and secure is to stay out of quarrels that do not affect vital U.S. interests and let alien societies work out their own destinies.

As time was our ally in the war against communism, which did not work, so, time is our ally in the war against Islamism, which also does not work.

But Bush has decided to go with the Wilsonians, and he is taking us with him. ■

[pith helmets in vogue]

## The Madness of Empire

The War Party's militarized strategy  
will unite the world against us.

By Scott McConnell

RECENTLY THE NOVELIST John le Carré wrote in the *Times* of London that the United States has entered a "period of madness" that dwarfs McCarthyism or the Vietnam intervention in intensity. One generally would not pay much attention to the cynical British spy-tale weaver, never especially friendly to America. But concern about America's mental health is more broadly in the air, spreading well beyond the usual professional anti-Americans. It is now pervasive in Europe, and growing in Asia, and when Matt Drudge posted le Carré's piece prominently on his website, it got passed around and talked about here in ways it never would have five years ago.

The proximate cause of le Carré's diagnosis is Washington's plan for a pre-emptive war against Iraq, a nation whose weapons pose no threat to the United States and that has no substantial links to al-Qaeda or 9/11. The U.S. would fight this war virtually without allies, though a few countries might be dragged into the fray against the will of their populations. But mad or not, this drive toward war is not mania of sudden onset but ratification of a neo-imperialist strategy that has been germinating

in neoconservative circles since the end of the Cold War.

A new war against Iraq was a gleam in the eye of a small but influential group long before 9/11. In 1998, the newly established Project for a New American Century (PNAC), an advocacy group chaired by *Weekly Standard* editor Bill Kristol, began sending open letters from prominent foreign policy hawks. First, it wrote to the Clinton administration calling upon the United States to "remove Saddam's regime." When its advice was ignored, PNAC asked Republican Congressional leaders to push for war. The signatories included Donald Rumsfeld, Paul Wolfowitz (now number two at the Pentagon), Elliott Abrams (recently appointed to the National Security Council as a director of Mid-East policy), William Bennett, John Bolton (now Undersecretary of State), and the ubiquitous Richard Perle, chairman of the Defense Policy Board and often considered the central figure the interlocking web of neoconservative think tanks.

PNAC's ambitions go well beyond Saddam's overthrow. Immediately after 9/11, the group began pushing to expand

the war against other Muslim states, calling for the U.S. to target Hezbollah and its sponsors, Iran and Syria. PNAC also wants the U.S. to stop trying to foster a peace between Israel and the Palestinians, advocating withdrawal of the small amount of aid the U.S. gives the Palestinian Authority and granting full support to Israel's right wing Likud government.

These tactical measures are elements within a broader vision of a more militarized U.S. foreign policy, carried out without allies if necessary. In the final year of the first Bush administration, Paul Wolfowitz penned a memo under the aegis of then Secretary of Defense Cheney, calling for the United States to ramp up its defense spending in order to deter any other country from "even aspiring to a larger regional or global role." China, Russia, Germany, and Japan were to be intimidated from seeking more power in their own regions. After the Wolfowitz draft was leaked to the press, it received widespread ridicule, and the Bush I diplomats rushed to reassure allies that Wolfowitz's views did not truly reflect American foreign policy.





CHRIS WARE

But during the 1990s they did become the views of the neoconservatives, packaged under the slogan “benevolent global hegemony” touted by Kristol and Robert Kagan. The positions of the neo-conservative foreign policy team in exile (a sort of shadow subcabinet during the Clinton years) were fleshed out in a PNAC book, *Present Dangers*, which called for the U.S. to “shape the international environment to its own advantage” by being “at once a European power, an Asian power, a Middle Eastern power, and of course a Western Hemisphere power” and to “act as if instability in important regions of the world ... affect[s] us with almost the same immediacy as if [it] was occurring on our own doorstep.” In practice this meant assertive risk-taking virtually everywhere. Jonathan Clarke, reviewing the volume in the *National Interest*,

wrote, “If the book’s recommendations were implemented all at once, the U.S. would risk unilaterally fighting a five-front war, while simultaneously urging Israel to abandon the peace process in favor of a new no-holds-barred confrontation with the Palestinians.” This book has become the blueprint for the foreign policy of George W. Bush.

Only recently has it become commonplace (outside of the Marxist Left) to call this new policy imperialist. President Bush himself still shuns the word, telling a Veterans Day audience, “We have no territorial ambitions. We don’t seek an empire.” But a surprising number of foreign policy analysts, in the neo-con orbit and beyond, have picked up the “I” word and run with it. Max Boot, a former *Wall Street Journal* editor who wrote a book about America’s splendid little wars writes in the *Weekly Stan-*

*dard* about “troubled lands [that] cry out for the sort of enlightened foreign administration once provided by self-confident Englishmen in jodhpurs and pith helmets.” Kristol co-author Robert Kagan prefers the term “hegemony” to empire, and many neoconservatives stress that the new American imperialism will differ from the bad old European sort because it will be welcomed by its subjects. The American Enterprise Institute’s Joshua Muravchik has written a primer on “exporting democracy” whose phrases now pop up regularly in Bushite rhetoric.

The war for democracy is meant to bring about eternal peace. A television sound-bite of the neo-imperialists is “democracies don’t fight one another,” though the generalization seems to ignore the bloodiest war in the 19th century (America’s Civil War) and arguably

the one that brought about the end of Europe's global pre-eminence (World War I). Never mind. The coda is always Wilsonian, a claim that pre-emptive war will bring forth a springtime of power to the people of the politically stagnant region.

None of this is entirely new of course: America's previous burst of imperial expansion at the turn of the 20th century was accompanied by plenty of talk about liberating our "brown brothers" from Spain's evil dominion and, later, teaching Latin Americans to hold clean elections and "elect good men." The phrases have come down to us through history class, but we do not remember the elections because, by and large, they never took place.

## THE PROSPECTS OF THIS NEW MILITARIZED IMPERIALISM OUGHT TO BE GAUGED BY HOW WELL IT MIGHT SUCCEED. WOULD IT MAKE AMERICANS MORE SECURE?

Nor, it should be remembered, did the older European imperialists consider themselves exploiters. The rulers and rhetoricians of France's and Britain's empires were quite confident that they were bringing the benefits of science, law, and rationality to poorer and backward peoples. Such claims were self-serving but not entirely fanciful. Contrary to the standard Leninist critique, imperialism was not a one-way transfer of wealth from colony to metropole: Britain and France made large investments in capital and education in their empires, in part producing the educated modernizing nationalist class that eventually threw them out. Though some American hawks have let on that establishing military bases astride the world's major oil arteries would not be a distasteful burden, in today's Washing-

ton the war against Iraq is not spoken of as an opportunity for plundering the region's vital resources. The war will be fought to liberate the Iraqi people: never before in the annals of neoconservative rhetoric have Arabs been talked about so solicitously. (Cynics might note that *Commentary* and the *Weekly Standard* showed little prior interest in bringing the benefits of democracy to the three million Palestinians under Israeli occupation, where American influence could have been brought to bear readily at almost any point in the past thirty-five years.)

The prospects of this new militarized imperialism ought to be gauged by how well it might succeed. Would it make Americans more secure? What are its

chances of democratizing the Middle East?

The strongest neo-imperialist case study is Japan, re-fashioned under American military occupation from a semi-feudal militaristic dictatorship that waged aggressive war into a semi-capitalist, reasonably democratic, and very peaceable ally and trading partner of the United States. But the differences between Japan and the Islamic nations our present-day imperialists want to occupy are stark. Appreciation for the West and democratic ideas was well rooted in Japan. The Japanese began to borrow furiously from the West once Commodore Perry landed in 1853, in science and military technology of course, but also in the world of ideas. Reading the Western *philosophes* became a fad during the Meiji Restora-

tion, which initiated voting for Parliament in 1889 and had universal male suffrage by the 1920s. Pushing the process along was an indigenous "liberty and popular rights movement," which spawned dozens of autonomous political groups. "Loyal opposition" was not an alien idea. Moreover, Japan's bureaucracy—a samurai-based elite class that pre-dated the Meiji Restoration—was ready to implement democratic reforms and put its own stamp on the new regime. General MacArthur had much on which to build. Moreover, every country in Asia wanted Japan transformed. The imposition of an entirely new order from outside—MacArthur and his crew ended up writing the internal laws, redistributing property, reshaping the economy, and imposing a constitution—was considered legitimate throughout the region. The circumstances in the Mid-East, where American invasion is opposed vigorously in the region and by three of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, could not be more different.

If prior conditions made Japan receptive to the imposition of democracy from without, the general success rate of imperial powers in molding occupations to their liking is poor. Both Britain and France tried mightily to form a suitable "indigenous" elite in their colonies, neither with much success. The ascending middle classes demanded access to education, but British and French administrators quickly learned the more natives were educated, the more colonial rule angered them. Britain gave up its empire without too much strife, but France was driven out of Indochina by a bloody guerilla war and from an Algerian colony (bound to the mother country with "indissoluble links" according to the language of the time) by a fierce campaign of terror. One hears echoes of the arguments made by colonialist Frenchmen in the mouths of America's

neo-imperialists: if the Algerian nationalists prevailed, they would subject the Algerians to all the horrors of autocratic, quasi-fascist domination. Such arguments were, as Raymond Aron wrote at the time, true but irrelevant: colonized people rated national independence more highly than they did the rights of the individual.

This is especially true in the Islamic world. Roger Scruton in *The West and the Rest* comes to this conclusion on the deeper divergences in political culture that seem to flow from Islam and Christianity respectively: "The virtues of Western political systems are, to a certain kind of Islamic mind, imperceptible—or perceptible, as they were to Qutb and Atta, only as hideous moral failings. Even while enjoying the peace, prosperity, and freedom that issue from a secular rule of law, a person who regards the *shari'a* as the unique path to salvation may see these things only as signs of spiritual emptiness or corruption." Perhaps skeptical thinkers like Aron and Scruton are wrong and the neocon cheerleaders for imperialistic democracy-imposition are right, but one would not want to bet America's future on it.

Then there is the reaction of the world to consider, after the United States rains cruise missiles on Baghdad, seizes the Iraqi oil fields and "the next day" (as Ariel Sharon urges) prepares for war against Iran. One can imagine that the Saudis will fall into a political panic, that Europe will be enraged, that Russia and China will be coolly hostile and begin to make plans. What impact would the Iraq invasion have on the international system?

During the Clinton years, quite a few international affairs specialists wondered why American pre-eminence had not given rise to the kind of counterbalancing and ganging up against the leading power that classic international

relations theory and diplomatic history would lead one to expect. Russia and China briefly eyed one another as allies, the Europeans griped, but nowhere did major countries come close to forming real military alliances to counter America's strength. Why not?

**AMERICA IS AN ELEPHANT THAT LUMBERS BUT DOES NOT CRUSH AND THAT USES ITS HEGEMONY TO CREATE "PUBLIC GOODS"—IF AMERICA INVADES IRAQ, THE BOTTOM WILL FALL OUT OF THIS ARGUMENT.**

The most persuasive answer came from Joseph Joffe, a conservative pro-Atlanticist German. He wrote that while there was plenty of smoldering resentment of American power, no one felt it necessary to ally against it. The United States was a hegemon "different from all its predecessors. America annoys and antagonizes, but it does not conquer. ... This is a critical departure from the traditional ways of the high and mighty. For the balance of power machinery to crank up, it makes a difference whether the rest of the world faces a huge but unusually placid elephant or a caniverous tyrannosaurus rex." America is an elephant that lumbers but does not crush and that uses its hegemony to create "public goods"—institutions that the rest needs for security and economic growth.

If America invades Iraq, the bottom will fall out of this argument. The first consequence would probably be sharp drop in international co-operation against terrorism, especially terrorism directed against the United States. After that, we can contemplate new alliances: Russia and China, Europe and the (unoccupied) Middle East, an international system in rapid flux but increasingly focused on restraining American power. Of course, the United

States will always have Israel as its friend.

Consider America's international situation: a country rich and technological-ly advanced, blessed with unusually stable political system, separated from hostile countries by huge oceans, and

still retaining durable long term friendships with the world's most powerful and successful democratic states, and requiring serious international police and intelligence cooperation to deal with its most pressing enemy, al-Qaeda. For such a nation suddenly to decide that its best and only option to "save itself" is to embark on a course of imperial expansion, one that will be opposed vigorously by the rest of the world, seems almost a form of madness. ■

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[the rebalancing begins]

# Revolt of the Europeans

Paris and Berlin's shift portends a new—and less friendly—international order.

By Christopher Layne

THE JOINT DECLARATION on Jan. 22 by French President Jacques Chirac and German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder that Paris and Berlin will work together to oppose America's long-evident determination to go to war with Iraq is portentous. When future historians write about how American hegemony ended, they will point to the events of that day as a decisive turning point. America's coming collision with France and Germany—continental Europe's two most powerful states—is not a bolt from the blue. Discord in the transatlantic relationship has been building for over a year now, since President George W. Bush spoke of the so-called “axis of evil” in last year's State of the Union address and made clear that the administration is prepared to sweep aside European doubts about the wisdom of U.S. policy and fight a go-it-alone war with Iraq.

Iraq is an important issue in its own right, but the causes of the coming train wreck in U.S.-European relations go much deeper. For Paris and Berlin, the real issue is American hegemony. Here there is an interesting historical irony, for Chirac and Schroeder used the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the Franco-German Treaty to express their opposition to Washington. That treaty—negotiated by Charles De Gaulle and Konrad Adenauer—was itself intended as a bulwark against American hegemo-

ny. To grasp the full significance of the transatlantic collision between the U.S. and France and Germany, we need to understand the context, which is rooted both in history and in international relations theory.

Why do France and Germany (and much of the rest of the world, including other major powers like Russia and China) worry about American hegemony? The simple answer is that international politics remains fundamentally what it always has been: a competitive arena in which states struggle to survive. States are always worried about their security. Therefore, when one state becomes overwhelmingly powerful—that is, becomes hegemonic—others fear for their safety. Hegemony triggers what scholars of international relations call “balancing.” In plain English, this means that other states will try to offset the hegemon's “hard power” (its military and economic capabilities) by forming counter-hegemonic alliances with other states or by building up their own hard power capabilities or by doing both.

The historical record shows that sooner or later, hegemons are defeated by the balancing behavior of other states. Yet this has often not been a smooth process, which allows would-be hegemons to believe that they can succeed where others have failed. Precisely

because they are so powerful, there are many risks involved in stopping a hegemon. And this gives rise to what political scientists call “collective action” problems. Simply put, a hegemon threatens other states in the international system, but each of those states would prefer that another state bear the risks and costs of stopping a hegemon—that is, states prefer to pass the buck. (Buck passing explains, by the way, why burden sharing controversies have been the hearty perennial of transatlantic relations since the North Atlantic Treaty was signed in 1949.)

It is axiomatic that the Soviet Union's collapse left the United States as the sole great power in world politics, and each of the last three administrations has been determined to preserve America's post-Cold-War hegemony (though without the current administration's sledge-hammer diplomacy). American policymakers have come up with a number of (too) clever rationales to convince themselves that the U.S. will escape the fate that invariably befalls hegemons. One of these is to deny that America is a hegemon at all. Another is to admit that the U.S. is a hegemon but to claim that it is a different kind of hegemon—one that is non-threatening because it acts altruistically in international politics and because others are attracted to America's “soft power” (its

political institutions, values, and culture). Yet another argument also acknowledges the reality of U.S. hegemony and concludes that the United States can do as it pleases because it is so far ahead in terms of hard power that no other state can possibly hope to challenge American hegemony.

Now for sure, hegemony has been a huge issue in U.S.-European relations since the United States emerged as a great power at the end of the 19th century. The United States fought two big wars in Europe out of fear that if a single power (in this case, Germany) attained hegemony in Europe, it would be able to mobilize the continent's resources and threaten America in its own backyard, the Western Hemisphere. After World War II, the United States sought to prevent the re-emergence of a hegemonic threat from Europe by establishing its own hegemony over Western Europe.

## ONE OF THE **HOPES** OF THE FOUNDING FATHERS OF TODAY'S EUROPEAN UNION WAS THAT A **UNITED EUROPE** WOULD ACT AS A **COUNTERWEIGHT** TO THE **UNITED STATES**.

In fact, U.S. strategy toward Europe since World War II has been remarkably consistent and has been the outcome of a delicate balancing act by Washington. On the one hand, for economic reasons, the U.S. encouraged Western Europe's integration into a single common market. On the other hand, American policymakers understood the reasons that the U.S. had gone to war in 1917 and 1941, and the last thing they wanted was to encourage the emergence of a new pole of power on the European continent—whether in the guise of a resurgent Germany or of a politically united Europe. That is, they did not want Europe's economic integration to lead

to its political unification. So the U.S. sought to “de-nationalize” Europe by establishing a military protectorate that integrated Western Europe's military forces under, and subordinated them to, American command. By so doing, Washington aimed to neuter Western Europe geopolitically and thereby circumscribe Western Europe's ability to act independently of the United States in the high political realms of foreign and security policy.

Although it is often said that NATO was created to “keep the Russians out, the Americans in, and the Germans down” the truth is somewhat different. NATO had very little to do with the Cold War, and the U.S. would have created something very much like it even if there had been no Soviet threat following World War II (which is why the Soviet Union went out of business but NATO did not). In reality, Washington created NATO to keep the U.S. in Europe so that

it could keep the Germans down and keep the Europeans apart. These are still the goals of U.S. policy.

Now just as fear of a European hegemon led the U.S. to intervene in Europe's two great wars of the 20th century, the Western Europeans after World War II understood that the United States had established its own hegemony over them. And, as international relations theory would suggest, Western Europe tried to do something about it. Indeed, in the late 1940s and 1950s one of the hopes of the founding fathers of today's European Union (EU) was that the European Coal and Steel Community, and then the Common Market, would prove to be the

embryo of a united Europe that could act as a geopolitical and economic counterweight to the United States.

For sure, Western European balancing against the United States was constrained. On the one hand, although the Western Europeans feared American power, during the Cold War they feared the Soviet Union even more. And, in a more positive sense, following World War II, Washington was able to use the carrot of economic assistance—for example, the Marshall Plan—to keep Western Europe aligned (albeit very tenuously at times) with the U.S. But by the early 1960s, French President Charles de Gaulle believed that Western Europe—led by France—was poised to balance against American hegemony.

De Gaulle was one of the 20th century's towering figures, and he was well versed in the realities of international politics. Following Washington's successful facing-down of the Soviet Union in the 1962 Cuban missile crisis, he concluded that the world had become “unipolar”—dominated by a hegemonic America. To balance U.S. hegemony, De Gaulle pushed for France to acquire its own independent nuclear capabilities, and he sought to build a Western European pole of power based a Franco-German axis. That is what the 1963 treaty—the one Chirac and Schroeder were commemorating this past week—was all about.

Washington's reaction to the Gaullist challenge was to reassert its own hegemonic prerogatives over Western Europe. By pushing for a Multilateral Nuclear Force for Western Europe (in reality one that one keep Washington's finger firmly on the trigger), the U.S. sought—unsuccessfully—to derail France's nuclear ambitions. With considerably more success, however, the United States took the teeth out of the Franco-German Treaty. In so doing, Washington played the hardest kind of hegemonic

hardball. Threatening to rescind the security guarantee that protected West Germany from the Soviets, the U.S. insisted that the Bundestag insert a preamble to the treaty reaffirming that Bonn's Atlantic connection to the U.S. and NATO took supremacy over its ties with Paris. And the U.S. blatantly interfered in West German domestic politics to secure Adenauer's removal as chancellor and his replacement by the more pliable Atlanticist Ludwig Erhard.

Now, forty years later, the U.S. and Europe are engaged in the same game. America is asserting its hegemony, and France and Germany are seeking to create a European counterweight. Washington is employing a number of strategies to keep Europe apart. First, by opposing the EU's Rapid Reaction Force (the nucleus of a future EU army) and by encouraging European NATO members to develop "niche" military capabilities, Washington seeks to prevent Europe from developing autonomous (that is, outside U.S. control) military capabilities that could rival its own. Second, the U.S. has encouraged NATO expansion in the hope that the "new Europe" (Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Romania) will support Washington against France and Germany (what Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld sneeringly called the "old Europe"). Third, the U.S. is pushing hard for the enlargement of the EU—and especially the admission of Turkey—in the expectation that a bigger EU will prove unmanageable and hence unable to emerge as politically unified actor in international politics.

This is not 1963, however. The Cold War is over, and France and Germany are freer to challenge American hegemony. The EU is in the midst of an important constitutional convention that is laying the foundation for a politically unified Europe. To be sure, this may prove to be an EU based on "vari-

able geometry" because there are important divisions within the EU about whether to support Washington's Iraq policy, and some EU members fear Franco-German dominance (a fear Washington attempts to exploit). Still, at the end of the day, it is a pretty solid bet that the Franco-German axis will prove to be the core of a European counterweight to U.S. hegemony. And, in the long run, that counterweight will begin to acquire hard power capabilities.

## **FRANCE AND GERMANY—AND SIMILARLY INCLINED POWERS LIKE RUSSIA AND CHINA—ARE FORGING NEW HABITS OF DIPLOMATIC CO-OPERATION TO OPPOSE WASHINGTON.**

In the short term, however, Paris and Berlin are bound to lead the way in "soft" balancing to counter U.S. hegemony. By using international organizations like the United Nations to concert opposition to the United States, France and Germany—and similarly inclined powers like Russia and China—are forging new habits of diplomatic co-operation to oppose Washington. In so doing, they both signal their collective determination to oppose U.S. hegemony and reduce the "collective action" problems involved in facing down a hegemon.

Now for sure, many in Washington couldn't care less about Franco-German opposition, and they assert that the U.S. has the right to act unilaterally to ensure its security. And indeed it does. But this argument misses the point. This new crisis in transatlantic relations is not about choosing between multilateralism and unilateralism. Paris and Berlin understand what an increasing number of Americans are beginning to realize. The coming war with Iraq has nothing to do with 9/11 and is not necessitated by any threat to American national security.

Following its 1991 defeat, and more than a decade of economic sanctions and isolation, Iraq, is far weaker than it was when it invaded Kuwait in August 1990—and it has been successfully contained and deterred. France and Germany (and others) realize that in going to war, the Bush II administration is, in the memorable July 1914 phrase of the then-German chancellor, "taking a leap into the dark," and they worry about the ramifications of U.S. military action in a

region where they—and others—also have important political, strategic, and economic interests.

Make no mistake, the U.S. will go to war with Iraq. But the diplomatic emperor has no clothes, and France and Germany see U.S. behavior for what it really is: the United States is acting as an aggressive hegemon engaged in the naked aggrandizement of its own power. As such, it is inviting the same fate that has overtaken modern international history's other contenders for hegemony. In the sweep of history, the Bush administration will not be remembered for conquering Baghdad but rather for a policy that galvanized both soft and hard balancing against American hegemony. What the administration will trumpet as "victory" in the Persian Gulf will, in reality, prove to be the beginning of the end of America's era of global preponderance. ■

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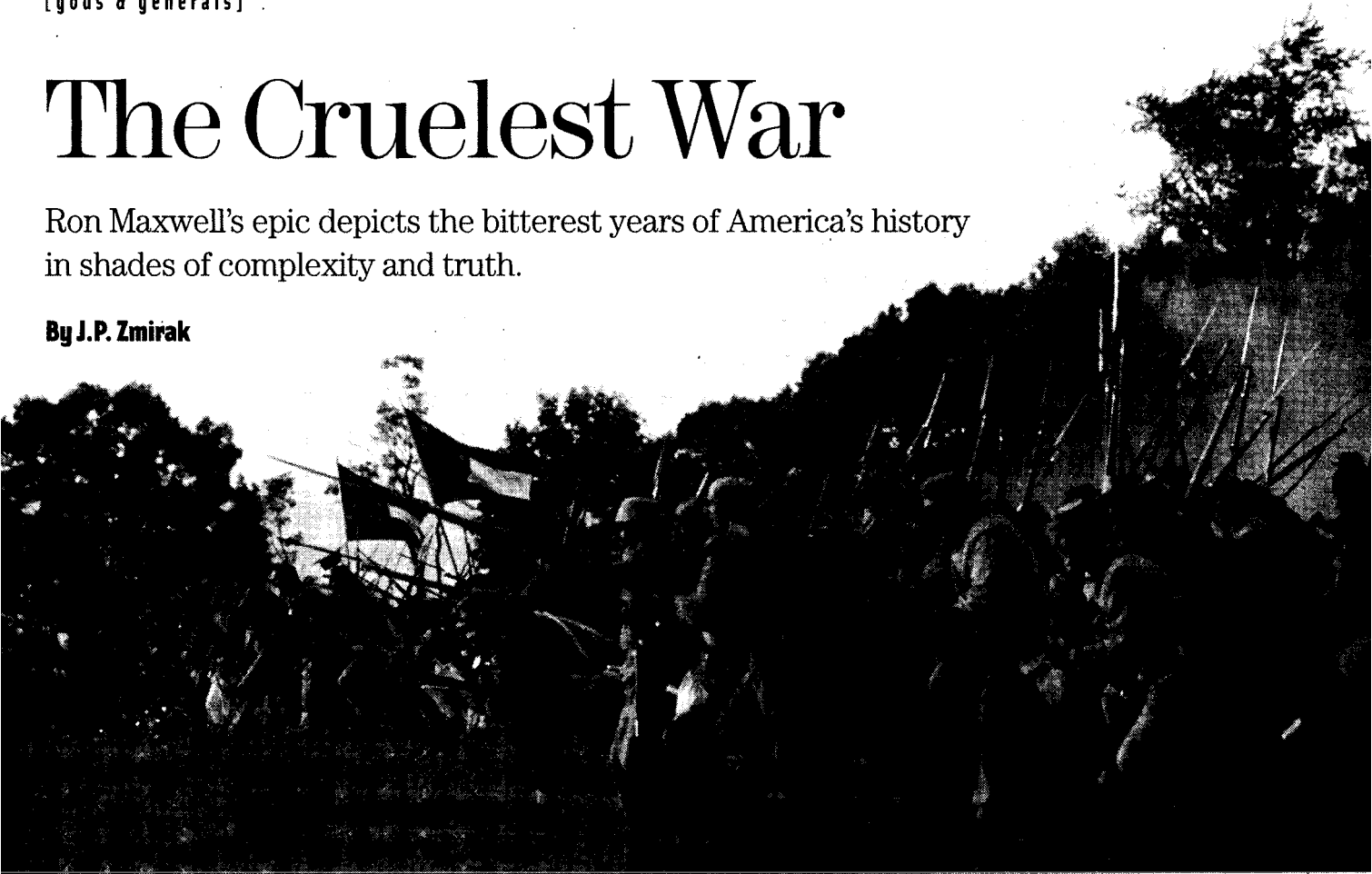


[gods &amp; generals]

# The Cruellest War

Ron Maxwell's epic depicts the bitterest years of America's history in shades of complexity and truth.

By J.P. Zmirak



RECENT EVENTS IN THE U.S. Senate remind us that some of the cannon balls fired in the War Between the States have not yet exploded but still lie in America's soil waiting to blow up when kicked. Writer/director Ronald F. Maxwell has never been afraid of walking this hazardous ground. He trod it in his first Civil War epic, "Gettysburg" (1994), a massive four-hour retelling of the most decisive days in our country's history, filmed on the original battlefield, and he does so again in his new release, "Gods & Generals" (Turner Studios/ Warner Bros. 2003). The films were based on the novels *The Killer Angels* by Stephen Shaara and *Gods & Generals* by Jeff Shaara. For all their length and epic scale, there

is not a dull scene in either film—nor a moment's compromise with stark historical truth. Each shows in intimate detail the awful sacrifices men made in that grinding war and the idealism, misguided or not, that drove both sides. Each uses the careful lessons of historians to place the deeds of men in accurate context.

Maxwell is a brave director. (Full disclosure: he is also a friend and sometime collaborator.) As Pat Buchanan recently noted, the very battlefield at Gettysburg will soon see its visitor center and museum renovated to remove reminders of the courage of Southern soldiers and "emphasize the horrors of slavery." Indeed, Gettysburg Park

Superintendent John Latschathe wishes to atone for the former presentation of the site: "For the past 100 years," he said, "we've been presenting this battlefield as the high watermark of the Confederacy and focusing on the personal valor of the soldiers who fought here. ... We want to get away from the traditional descriptions of who shot whom, where and into discussions of why they were shooting one another." The "why" as newly depicted will center on slavery—in accord with the monolithic official narrative of the Civil War, which casts the conflict between the slave states and the sweatshop states not as a human tragedy but a Manichaean struggle of good against evil.

What is so surprising, even shocking about Maxwell's work, is that he *does* show both sides. While he's neither a southerner—Maxwell grew up in the New York area and attended NYU Film School—nor a Confederate nostalgist, this writer/director is too committed to historical truth to adopt contemporary prejudices, which transform the losing soldiers into inhuman monsters motivated by hatred and bigotry. Instead, Maxwell shows that most Southerners, like most Northerners, were fighting for reasons that had little or nothing to do with slavery or white supremacy. (In fact, the survival of both, whoever won the war, was taken for granted by the

leaders of both sides when war began. Radical abolitionists who wished to wipe out both by force were considered, even in the North, a disreputable fringe element, akin to today's abortion clinic bombers.)

Of course, the divisions between North and South centered on the issue of free states versus slave states, and the war was made likely by the increasingly obvious incompatibility of slavery with the Christian and Enlightenment principles that had jointly been used to justify America's independence from Britain. This single fact blocked Great Britain and France from following their sympathies and economic self-interest and recognizing the Confederate government: they did not wish to be seen as endorsing slavery.

It is interesting to note that by 1865, slavery had been successfully abolished without civil strife throughout the British Empire and most of Latin America; likewise, serfdom would die in Eastern Europe without a war. Only in the U.S. did the interests of slaveholders piggyback on profound regional differences to create a widespread coalition in favor of secession that invoked a plausible constitutional justification for it. The horror of the Civil War must first be blamed on the "fire-eaters" of the South who demanded independence rather than accept the election of Abraham Lincoln—who won without a single Southern electoral vote. The prospect they faced under a Lincoln administration was, at worst, one of gradual erosion of Southern privileges and the slow strangulation of slavery, whose economic utility was already drying up. It is not surprising to learn that Generals Lee and Jackson each deeply doubted the wisdom of secession and personally opposed slavery.

When President Lincoln seized the ideological initiative midway through the war with the Emancipation Procla-

mation, his stroke of statecraft transformed what had been a losing fight for national cohesion into a crusade to liberate millions of slaves. In doing so, he tapped into a profound strain in Christian thought and feeling—one deeply grounded in popular hymns, stories, and prayers that hearken back to the Book of Exodus. As his troops seized the high ground at Gettysburg, Lincoln took the moral high ground in the eyes of the world—isolating the Confederacy as a band of holdouts fighting for a doomed, unjust way of life. That moral isolation continues today. It was deepened during the Civil Rights movement, as segregationists employed the symbols of the historic South in defense of Jim Crow legislation. That isolation explains the taboos that have arisen around discussions of the war and display of its emblems and monuments. As Garry Wills explained admiringly in *Lincoln at Gettysburg*, Lincoln's rhetoric in that address, along with the Emancipation Proclamation, transformed the battle for the Union into an ideological war against a section of the country that imperfectly embodied the nation's founding principle. This was no longer conceived as self-determination or self-government—the rallying cries of the Confederates—but rather as equality. The Declaration of Independence replaced the Constitution as the focal point of American self-definition.

Slavery may have caused the war, but it was not why most men fought—any more than most Vietnamese fought against France or America in order to advance international communism. Lincoln's Proclamation was a piece of brilliant political theater, which freed few slaves directly and left the slaves in Union states in legal bondage until the passage of the 13th Amendment. Lincoln had not run on an abolitionist platform, and throughout the war he still favored deporting freed slaves to Africa



VAN REIN

Jeff Daniels as Col. Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain

—a prospect that horrified fervent abolitionists like William Lloyd Garrison and former slaves like Frederick Douglass.

Comparatively few Southern soldiers owned slaves, and few Northern soldiers signed up in order to free them. Certainly the conscripts later pressed into service of the Union cared little for Southern slaves—as gangs of Irish immigrants made clear in New York City by lynching native-born free blacks, whom they blamed for the wartime draft. (It did not help that rich men could buy exemption from service for \$400, while Irishmen were drafted virtually right off the boat at Ellis Island.) This awful event is whitewashed in Martin Scorsese's otherwise powerful *"Gangs of New York."*

*"Gods & Generals,"* in its gripping depiction of the outbreak and early battles of the Civil War, shows what actually did drive men North and South to enlist in the massive armies that ground each other into carnage across the once-united states. The film follows the careers of three great military leaders: General Robert E. Lee (Robert Duvall), General Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson, and Union Colonel Joshua Lawrence

at the outset of the American Revolution. Robert E. Lee rides into Washington, D.C., just before Virginia's secession, and is shocked when the War Department offers him command of the U.S. Army for the purpose of crushing the rebellion. As he explains in carefully measured tones—Duvall's performance is superb—for all his love of the U.S. Army, he cannot participate in the invasion of his home state. Lee concludes, "My first loyalty, sir, is to Virginia."

This theme repeats itself, in scene after stirring scene, as we watch the awakening of a Virginian political identity. It is easy for us to forget that only 12 years before, in 1848, all Europe had been convulsed by upsurges of nationalism, of regions struggling to separate themselves from the domination of larger, stronger neighbors. The Romanticism that pervaded Europe in the 19th century had spread to the South through Sir Walter Scott's novels, encouraging a



Stephen Lang (right) as Gen. Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson

Stonewall, the Old Testament warrior let loose on a modern battlefield, almost a Confederate John Brown. When he is not commanding troops, Jackson's prophetic ferocity melts away; Lang portrays a Jackson who tenderly loves and cares for his wife Anna (Kali Rocha) and newborn daughter; who discusses the evil of slavery with a freed black he befriends; and who cultivates a personal prayer life, meditating on nature and speaking intimately with God in a manner that recalls St. Francis. The same Jackson on the battlefield seeks no quarter and offers none, walking fearlessly before the guns, in blissful confidence that God will carry him to victory over the enemies of his homeland—Virginia. Lang portrays each side of the man with perfect conviction, making the contradiction between them all the more stunning—recalling Kirk Douglas' achievement in another great war epic, *"Spartacus."*

## FEW SOUTHERN SOLDIERS OWNED SLAVES, AND FEW NORTHERN SOLDIERS SIGNED UP IN ORDER TO FREE THEM.

Chamberlain. The director's cut—containing six hours of gripping footage which will be available on DVD next year—also paints a grimly fascinating portrait of John Wilkes Booth, Lincoln's assassin, exploring how a promising young Shakespearean actor turned himself into a terrorist.

In a series of poignantly acted and beautifully photographed scenes, we watch men of principle struggle with competing loyalties—much as they did

myth of chivalric resistance by feudal lords to the onslaught of modern values and industrial capitalism. All of this must be added to the mix when we try to understand why Southerners made the disastrous decision to secede—and fire the first shot against a vastly stronger, more populous, and mechanized Union.

Stephen Lang plays another Virginian, General Jackson with a humanity and tenderness that will surprise the casual reader of history—who only knows of





VAN FEDIN

Perhaps the most memorable performance in the film is Jeff Daniels's as Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain, the humble and idealistic Bowdoin College classics teacher who leaves his comfortable lectern to answer President Lincoln's call for volunteers. Later the Union hero of Gettysburg—his astonishing tactical maneuvers and coolness under fire kept the Confederates from outflanking the Union army and winning the battle, perhaps the war—Chamberlain begins the fight with no military experience. He leaves his beloved wife (Mira Sorvino) and embarks on the dangerous adventure of war out of love for the Union, leading men from his home state, Maine. (Maxwell nicely depicts the regional loyalties of Northern soldiers as well—an often neglected subject.) In the course of the battles he endures, Chamberlain begins to expand his vision of the fighting and its purpose to include the issue of slavery—as he explains in a stirring speech delivered to his brother (C. Thomas Howell), who serves alongside him. The war was not begun to end slavery or endorse a basic equality, Chamberlain admits, but “war changes things.” The massive sacrifices made on both sides had raised the stakes, and the aims of the war must be expanded to justify its heavy price: from all this blood spilled a greater good must emerge, and it must include the end of

slavery. The gradual evolution of Chamberlain's motivation for fighting, and the peace terms he will accept, depicts in microcosm the evolution of popular feeling in the North as the war continued.

Just how bitter a price men paid this film depicts more powerfully than virtually any war movie I have seen—and much more subtly than most. The most memorable battle scene—and all are powerfully done—occurs in the film's depiction of Fredericksburg, an assault by Union forces bungled by the incompetence of Northern generals. The brave, doomed ranks of Federals march forward into the guns of an entrenched Confederate position, and thousands are slaughtered. A company of Southern soldiers of Irish descent, whose Georgia banner bears a harp, espy amidst their enemies another band of Irishmen, recruits from New York marching under a shamrock flag. The Southerners literally weep and gnash their teeth as they grimly mow down soldiers twice over their countrymen. The scene drives home as nothing else the ugly ironies that make civil wars the cruelest.



VAN FEDIN

Robert Duvall as Gen. Robert E. Lee

By depicting the bitterest years of America's history in shades of complexity and truth—and making the result so entertaining and accessible—Maxwell has done a great service for the cause of historical memory in America. Countless high school students will skip their politically sanitized textbooks and instead rent Maxwell's movies to learn about the Civil War. Homeschoolers and attentive parents will buy the DVDs and watch them alongside their schoolchildren for lessons about history and the human heart. ■

*J.P. Zmirak is author of Wilhelm Röpke: Swiss Localist, Global Economist.*

The third in Maxwell's Civil War series, “Last Full Measure,” also based on a novel by Jeff Shaara, is slated for production in 2003-2004.

# Privilege Before the Law

How the equal rights revolution resurrected quotas

By Paul Craig Roberts

EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW is an achievement of a thousand-year struggle, but Americans have carelessly thrown it away. We have spent the past 37 years resurrecting feudalism, a system of differential legal rights based on status. The new legal aristocrats are "preferred minorities"—an official designation—whether they are native-born descendants of slaves or walked across our border today.

In the University of Michigan racial quota case before the Supreme Court, we have an opportunity to drive a stake through the heart of the new feudalism before it is too late and to reaffirm equality before the law. But if the Bush administration's legal brief against the University of Michigan's quota scheme and the Supreme Court's *Bakke* ruling a quarter century ago are guides to the outcome, our future lies with feudalism.

The Bush administration's brief against Michigan's racial quotas is a political one. It is against racial quotas but for diversity. This was the *Bakke* (1978) decision, one that the brief urges the Supreme Court to follow: quotas are unconstitutional, but for preferred minorities race can be a factor in granting admission to university or medical and law schools. To help prepare the ground, the Bush administration's two high-profile blacks, Secretary of State Colin Powell and National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice, have made the rounds of the TV talk shows expressing their support for the view that "race should be a factor."

When we say that race should be a factor, we mean that skin color is a factor that mitigates or trumps the requirements for admission in order to make certain that some percentage of those with privileged pigmentation are admitted on terms not open to white applicants. Regardless of how we disguise quotas with euphemisms or elaborate admission schemes, we are speaking of racial privilege.

Privilege has a way of not going away. Indeed, the Supreme Court has precedent for ruling that preferred minorities have squatters' rights in racial quotas. When the controversial *Roe v. Wade* abortion ruling came back before the Court in 1992, a plurality ruled that despite the absence of a legal or constitutional basis for the pro-abortion *Roe v. Wade* ruling, the passage of time had given women squatters' rights to abortions: "An entire generation has come of age free to assume *Roe's* concept of liberty in defining the capacity of women to act in society and to make reproductive decisions."

Five years previously, in 1987, Justice John Paul Stevens voted to extend quotas in the *Johnson* case even though he acknowledged that Congress forbade quotas in the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Justice Stevens said that the "petitioner would unquestionably prevail" if Congress' original "color-blind" rhetoric controlled the Court's decision, but that the intent of statutory law was no longer controlling because "*Bakke* and *Weber* have been decided and are now an important part of the fabric of our law."

How did we end up with racial quotas when the 1964 Civil Rights Act expressly forbids them? It was primarily the work of one man, an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) bureaucrat named Alfred Blumrosen, now a Rutgers University law professor. Blumrosen's thoroughgoing and illegal rewrite of the Civil Rights Act was accepted by the Supreme Court in *Griggs v. Duke Power* (1971). A brief history of the Civil Rights Act's transmogrification will help the reader understand the impotence of statutory law and the Constitution when assaulted by unaccountable federal bureaucrats and crusading justices.

Although Republicans received little credit for the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, it passed because of the support of Senate Minority Leader Everett Dirksen (R-Ill.) Hubert Humphrey and the bill's sponsors were insistent that racial quotas were absolutely forbidden by the act. Nevertheless, passage of the bill required amendments.

Dirksen tightly bottled up quotas with statutory language and added an amendment that defined discrimination as an intentional act that could not be inferred from statistical disparities. Sen. John Tower (R-Texas) added an amendment that protected employment tests from Title VII of the bill. House Judiciary Committee Chairman Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.) amended the bill to prevent the EEOC from making *any* substantive regulatory interpretations of the act. Neither the clear statutory language of the act and the amendments nor the act's unambiguous legislative history could prevent Blumrosen and the Burger Court from standing the Civil Rights Act on its head.



Blumrosen ignored the act and its statutory prohibition against regulatory interpretation. He bet that he could get away with rewriting the act because of the courts' deference to the regulatory agency. Blumrosen redefined discrimination to be statistical disparity or under-utilization of blacks. If an employer's work force contained a smaller percentage of blacks than blacks comprised of the local population, the company was discriminating. Anything that had disparate impact, such as employment tests, Blumrosen declared to be discriminatory. Having eliminated intent, he was able to shift the act's focus from specific discrimination against individuals and initiate agency proceedings against employers even in the absence of complaints of discrimination.

## KAISER ALUMINUM'S DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WHITES IN THE COMPANY'S TRAINING PROGRAM WAS "BENIGN DISCRIMINATION" CONSISTENT WITH THE "SPIRIT" OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT.

*Griggs* (1971) was the first test of the Blumrosen Civil Rights Act. Chief Justice Warren Burger declared that the illegal "administrative interpretation of the act by the enforcing agency is entitled to great deference." The Court ruled that Duke Power was discriminating against blacks because the company's requirements for promotion—either a high school diploma or a passing grade on Wonderlic and Bennett intelligence and mechanical comprehension tests—were "built-in headwinds for minority groups." The Court ruled with Blumrosen that discrimination did not require intent, only consequence.

Blumrosen's rewrite of the Civil Rights Act required employers to adopt racial quotas in order to avoid federal lawsuits. Private employment and pro-

motion quotas are held to be legal because of the fiction that they are "voluntarily adopted" and not required by federal statute. They are required, of course, to avoid federal lawsuits.

Blumrosen's redefinition of discrimination created "reverse discrimination." Whites lose opportunities for racial reasons alone. When Brian Weber's reverse discrimination case came before the Supreme Court in 1979, the Court ruled that Kaiser Aluminum's discrimination against whites in the company's training program was "benign discrimination" consistent with the "spirit" of the Civil Rights Act.

Public universities, being public, are restricted by the Constitution's equal protection clause from voluntarily adopting racial quotas like private companies. Other rationales have had to be

created, such as "a compelling government interest," "remedying past discrimination," and "diversity." No court has yet explained the power granted these concepts to trump the Constitution. But a number of judges, justices, and law professors have assumed that these exemptions to the Constitution's equal protection clause exist.

The Bush administration's complaint against the University of Michigan's racial quotas is artificial. Michigan has been evading merit based admission by granting preferred minorities 20 points for skin color, whereas a perfect SAT score only receives 12 points. The Bush administration will be happy if Michigan adopts the Texas or Florida stratagem of guaranteed admission to some top percentage of high school graduating class-

es. This quota system favors blacks in segregated schools over those in integrated schools. But it still trumps a competitive merit system with guaranteed admission on the basis of race.

The question that has not been answered these 37 years is why are political, legal, and academic elites determined to replace equality before the law with racial privilege? One possible answer is that elites are too caught up in "the righteous cause of the Negro" to comprehend that they are destroying the legal foundation of modernity and re-creating a feudal legal order. Another explanation is that elites believe blacks cannot compete with whites on equal terms and can only be rescued by privilege from being a permanent underclass. A third explanation is that elites accept Gunnar Myrdal's view that all whites are "aversive racists"; therefore, democracy cannot deliver justice to blacks and must be supplemented or superseded with legal coercion.

The common denominator of these answers is that justice for blacks requires whites to become second class citizens in law. Second class citizenship for whites is a definite result of Blumrosen's rewrite of the Civil Rights Act. Every administration since Nixon's and every Supreme Court since the Burger Court has diminished the rights of white people. The resurrection of a feudal legal system is occurring without debate. Moreover, it is white elites who are destroying the rights of white people. The vast majority of whites either accept the diminution of their rights or they are unaware of it.

The famed jurist Benjamin Cardozo said that in law there is a tendency for a principle to unfold to the limits of its logic. We have watched the principle of special rights for preferred minorities unfold in the myriad ways racial quotas have been institutionalized in public and private life. We are now observing this



principle unfold in the creation of crimes that can only be committed by whites against preferred minorities. Whites have been indicted and jailed for "hate crimes" when they are overheard using racial epithets in private conversation with family members (the Janice Barton case in Michigan) and for using "racist language" when they come to the defense of wives and family members who are physically assaulted by preferred minorities (the Lonny Rae case in Idaho). The recent demise of Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott (R-Miss.) confirms the power of preferred minorities to censure the speech of white persons. Even ancient words such as "niggardly" can no longer be used due to the misinterpretation of the word by uneducated preferred minorities.

Such speech control is very much a one-way street; the explicit demonization of whites is growing more commonplace. Vanderbilt University mathematics professor Jonathan Farley recently wrote, "the race problems that wrack America to this day are due largely to the fact that the Confederacy was not thoroughly destroyed, its leaders and soldiers executed, and their lands given to the landless freed slaves." Noel Ignatiev, an academic associated with Harvard University's Institute for African-American Research, thinks that all whites, not only southern ones, are the problem. He says, "the key to solving the social problems of our age is to abolish the white race." Ignatiev edits a journal, *Race Traitor*, which has as its motto, "treason to whiteness is loyalty to humanity."

White professors, no matter how distinguished, who spoke similarly about preferred minorities would be instantly sacked and most likely arrested for committing hate crimes. However, neither Ignatiev nor Farley even had to issue an apology. What does this say about the position of whites in their society?

The only possible way diverse races can live peacefully together is in equality before the law. If the Supreme Court wimps out like the Bush administration and cannot marshal the courage and wisdom to strike down racial criteria period, the Blumrosen Civil Rights Act and continued massive

immigration from the Third World could mean the collapse of a peaceful social order. ■

*Paul Craig Roberts is co-author with Lawrence Stratton of The New Color Line, a history of U.S. racial quotas, their origin, and consequences.*

# Bush's Rubicon

Terrorists welcome the war on Iraq.

By Arnaud de Borchgrave

THE MOST EXPERIENCED counter-terrorist investigator in the Western world is France's Jean-Louis Bruguière. He is not campaigning against a U.S. regime change invasion of Iraq. But he is saying that Islamic militants are recruiting hundreds of jihadis to carry out terrorist attacks as soon as the war balloon goes up.

He also sees the bulk of these threats emanating from groups in Chechnya. Many of these terrorists were trained in how to make chemical weapons in al-Qaeda camps in Afghanistan and in the Soviet Red Army during the Cold War.

Bruguière has searched high and low and found no evidence of the Iraq/al-Qaeda link that recently moved from conventional wisdom in the White House to a stated fact in President George W. Bush's State of the Union address.

War on Iraq without approval from the UN Security Council, Bruguière says, will exacerbate anti-American sentiments throughout the world and act as a force-multiplier for transnational terrorists.

"Something very big is brewing," Bruguière said after Bush's speech. Transatlantic intelligence co-ordination led to the recent arrests of terrorist suspects in Spain, Italy, and Britain. "We

have evidence of a great deal of recruitment by Islamist radicals whose plans appear to be linked to the expectation of war in Iraq," said Italian Interior Minister Giuseppe Pisano.

The Czech Republic's intelligence chief has been informed that some of the suspects arrested in Germany and Britain had transited through Bratislava, in Slovakia, and Prague, but had originated from somewhere in Central Asia.

Bruguière described transnational terrorism in a recent French magazine article as "the Hundred Years War of modern times." A globalized nihilistic force, he wrote, "is everywhere and nowhere" and totally dedicated to the destruction of Western societies.

All Western European intelligence services, including Britain's MI6, now agree that an invasion of Iraq would be not only a distraction from the war on terror but a catalytic agent for would-be *jihadi* terrorists from all over the Muslim world and from Muslim communities in the West. The European perception is almost the exact opposite of the Bush administration's view of world events.

Hardliners in the Bush administration—and their Likud allies in Israel—are

convinced that Saddam Hussein's downfall will be a major setback for global terrorism. To which Europe's counter-terrorist community responds by saying that Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan was tantamount to kicking a hornet's nest instead of capturing it and neutralizing it. The botched Tora Bora operation 13 months ago scattered the hornets throughout Pakistan, a U.S. ally, and beyond to Kashmir, Chechnya, Malaysia, Indonesia, Yemen, East Africa, even Latin America.

Bruguière also believes that the Caucasus—not only Chechnya—is becoming a “neo-Afghanistan” that is more threatening for Europe than for the United States. Muslim extremists who sympathize with al-Qaeda but are not terrorists tell European journalists they are hoping the U.S. invades Iraq. “This will demonstrate once again that Muslims are being targeted and thus will allow them to rally Muslims to their point of view and recruit new militants,” said leftist Algerian author and journalist Mohamed Sifaoui.

So what does the European counter-terrorist community propose to do about Saddam and his concealed weapons of mass destruction? He is back in his box, they argue, and subjected to the daily humiliation of UN inspectors officially authorized to run roughshod over Iraq's sovereignty. A few more months and the inspectors may get lucky with U.S. intelligence to guide them. Alternatively, Iraqi generals may screw up their courage and gang up on Saddam Soprano. All such talk is dismissed by the war hawks as the prattle of appeasers.

But in recent months, prominent U.S. generals with extensive Middle Eastern experience, who can hardly be taxed with appeasement, have warned about the pitfalls of a U.S. invasion of Iraq. The latest recruit to their ranks is the retiring NATO supreme commander, Air Force Gen. Joe Ralston, a former deputy chair-

man of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Ralston—like generals “Stormin’ Norman” Schwarzkopf, supreme commander of the first Gulf War against Iraq in 1991, and Anthony Zinni, former commander-in-chief of U.S. forces in the Middle East—says that a solution to the bloody Israeli-Palestinian deadlock is a much higher priority than regime change in Iraq. Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon has decided otherwise.

In any event, as Julius Caesar said on crossing the river Rubicon in 49 BC, *Iacta alea est*—the die is cast. He preferred the dignity of war over the humiliation of a process. In doing so, he invaded Italy and provoked the Second Civil War from which sprang the genesis of modern European culture.

Bush has no intention of succumbing to the UN process. Psychologically, he has crossed his Rubicon. He does not plan to upend the biggest deployment of U.S. military power since the Gulf War short of Saddam's annihilation.

The emergence of a post-war democratic Iraq is a Walter Mitty fantasy. All one can do is hope that Iraq, an artificial multi-ethnic state created after the First World War, does not meet the fate of Yugoslavia, another artificial multi-ethnic state. ■

*Arnaud de Borchgrave is editor at large of United Press International.*

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## Numbers Games

Bending facts to justify war.

By George Szamuely

“IN THEIR SEARCH for hidden Iraqi arms, U.N. inspectors have so far faced little conflict, have found little evidence and have received little outside intelligence to guide them”—thus the *Los Angeles Times* from Dec. 31.

Stories about not finding evidence of weapons of mass destruction suggest, however, that they are there but have yet to be found. The other day, U.S. Ambassador to the UN John Negroponte called on Iraq to admit to weapons programs “it maintains, even today. ... Anything less is not co-operation and will constitute further material breach.” As it is logically impossible to prove one is not doing something, absence of evidence becomes proof of duplicity and therefore of guilt.

Of course, weapons are only part of the story: there is also Saddam's export of terror. No one has any real evidence for this; it is pure speculation, a campaign of demonization driven by the need to supply bogus reasons for an unprovoked attack. The same ploy was used again and again in the Balkans in the 1990s. Back then it was Serbia that had to be bombed, so a similar campaign was waged against it. The Serbs, we were told, were intent on creating a “Greater Serbia,” they ran death camps, carried out mass rapes, and engaged in genocide. It is worth recalling how baseless these claims were and how ready the West is to manipulate facts to justify imperialism.

Remember the 100,000 Kosovo Albanians supposedly missing and suspect-

ed killed by the Serbs during the 1999 NATO bombing? Defense Secretary William Cohen, State Department spokesman James Rubin, and Ambassador-at-Large for War Crimes David Scheffer all cited the 100,000 figure. The State Department at one point even speculated that it was 500,000. There were the reports of satellite pictures of "mass graves pointing in the direction of Mecca." Then just as NATO was about to march into Kosovo, the numbers were drastically revised downwards.

The new estimate for dead Albanians was 10,000. But where were the bodies? After months and months of relentless digging, Hague Tribunal Prosecutor Carla del Ponte announced that NATO had exhumed 2,108 bodies. Quite a bit less than the official estimate, particularly as del Ponte was unable to say to whom these bodies belonged, what their ethnicity was, how they died, or when they died. The tribunal sniffed, "genocide is not a numbers game" and gave up on the tedious business of forensics altogether.

Numbers are only a game when they do not come out the way you want. A report published in October 2002 by the Office of the Commissioner of Human Rights for the Council of Europe, "Kosovo: The Human Rights Situation and the Fate of Persons Displaced From Their Homes," reveals some fascinating numbers. According to the report, "some 3,700 persons ... have gone missing in Kosovo, of which approximately 2,750 are ethnic Albanian and 850 Serb." In addition, the report stated, "since 1999, some 4,600 bodies have been exhumed, of which only 2,100 have been identified. 2,500 remain, therefore, to be DNA tested." The report, interestingly, omits any ethnic breakdown of the exhumed bodies. Let us assume that every one of the 3,700 missing is dead. That would make the total number dead 5,800 (3,700 plus 2,100). Let us also assume that the ethnic breakdown of the 2,100 exhumed bodies

is the same as that for the missing. That would make 1,561 dead Albanians and 482 dead Serbs, making a grand total of 4,311 Albanians and 1,332 Serbs dead. Now, a fairly substantial proportion of those Albanians will have been murdered by the KLA for alleged collaboration with the erstwhile Serb authorities or for their general refusal to play ball with terrorists and gangsters.

This is scarcely a secret. A recent article in *Der Spiegel*, citing as its source Kosovo Albanian leader Bujar Bukoshi, stated, "[T]he cruelest cleansings took place among the Albanians. Under the pretext that they were 'Serbian collaborators,' the leaders of the KLA liquidated their political opponents....The number of the victims is estimated to be more than a thousand." That is likely to be an extremely conservative estimate. So that leaves us with something like just over 3,000 Albanians dead. But that number includes all of the Albanians killed by NATO bombs, those killed in combat, in crossfire between the Yugoslav army and the KLA or by accident, not to mention anyone who may have been killed for whatever reason before 1999. So the numbers game has now taken us not only far from the original 100,000, but even quite a long way from the 10,000 of recent propaganda efforts. More significant, no explanation has been offered as to how satellite photos were interpreted as proof for something that never in fact happened.

So it is that facts become the first casualty of war, and as the Iraqi build-up begins, truth falls victim once again. Is Saddam Hussein the worst mass-murderer in the world today? It scarcely matters. Once Iraq is conquered and occupied, no one will be much interested in the truth. By then a new enemy will have been targeted. ■

*George Szamuely is a writer in New York City.*

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# Arts & Letters

## FILM

[*The Pianist*]

### *The Saving Power of Music*

By Steve Sailer

ALTHOUGH IT IS ONE of the frontrunners in the scramble for Oscar nominations, Roman Polanski's Holocaust drama "The Pianist" is actually a movie of surprisingly modest ambitions. If you trust too much in the critics' raves, you are likely to leave puzzled over what all the shouting is about. Yet, if you rein in your expectations, this competent film will impress you.

Based on the laconic 1946 memoir by Jewish composer Wladyslaw Szpilman, "The Pianist" shies away from both general questions about the meaning of the Holocaust and personal ones about the protagonist's emotions to recount simply the unlikely facts of how one man survived.

The movie, like its hero, is something of a blank slate upon which critics have been inscribing their own Deep Thoughts about the Holocaust and Polanski's lurid life. The Polish Jewish director lost his mother to Adolf Hitler and his wife to Charles Manson. He has been on the lam in Europe since being sentenced in 1978 for the statutory rape of a 13-year-old girl.

"The Pianist" is not in the same class as Polanski's 1974 "Chinatown," which might feature the best use of ambient sound ever. Here, the dialogue (which is in English) is somewhat muffled. Still, this is a strong effort for a 69-year-old director.

Szpilman was a celebrity in pre-WWII Warsaw, straddling classical and pop music in the manner of George Gershwin or Leonard Bernstein. He was playing Chopin on Polish radio in September 1939 when the German artillery bombardment began.

Soon, the Nazi administrators were harassing Warsaw's Jews with detailed regulations, while individual German soldiers tortured them with anarchic impunity. As the noose tightened, the Jews haltingly discovered their fate, one so appalling that even Hitler would not mention it to more than his closest henchmen.

This first half of the movie is well done, although a little generic after decades of books, movies, miniseries, and History Channel documentaries retelling the terrible collective destiny of the Jews.

At first, Szpilman kept his parents and siblings fed by playing background music at an expensive café. It was not heroic, but few besides his hot-blooded younger brother wanted the musician to resist the Nazis. Instead, other Jews looked out for him, treating his life as more important than the average person's. When Szpilman and his relations were being herded onto the cattle cars to Treblinka, a Nazi collaborator saved his life. Later, the Jewish resistance helped him escape the Warsaw Ghetto.

The second half of the movie is the more idiosyncratic. Szpilman's Polish Gentile fans hid him for two years in abandoned apartments, from which he witnessed the savage repressions of both the 1943 Ghetto uprising and the 1944 Polish Catholic rebellion.

In its relative lack of dialogue and score, the last hour recalls the silent middle passage of "Cast Away." There are a few bizarre touches. A music-lov-

ing Nazi captain gives the freezing Szpilman his coat, which almost gets the musician shot by his Communist liberators. Still, for the surrealism of survival, "The Pianist" can hardly compare to "Empire of the Sun," J.G. Ballard's autobiographical account of a Japanese internment camp, as brought to the screen in 1987 with jaw-dropping imagination by Steven Spielberg and Tom Stoppard.

The young American actor Adrien Brody is physically well cast as Szpilman. Tall, thin, and elegant, he simply looks like a man with the long-fingered hands of a concert pianist.

Many are talking Brody up for the Best Actor Oscar. Yet, veteran screenwriter Ronald Harwood (who in 1970 adapted Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's somewhat similar Gulag novel *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*) does not give Brody much to say or do, other than to grow ever more gaunt. Brody mostly gazes flatly upon the mounting indignities and atrocities with the preoccupied air of a starving man. Brody's general lack of affect certainly seems realistic. But why all the hype over a performance that hundreds of actors could have given?

Perhaps Brody's performance works as an audience-participation exercise. His Charles Bronson-like shortage of facial expressions combined with his character's dire circumstances seem to encourage many viewers to project their own feelings onto him.

For example, would you feel survivor's guilt if you were Szpilman? Some of the audience would, some would not. Normally, the filmmakers would have to choose which group to please and which to offend. Many in the audience would have to wind up annoyed that the main character does not react as they would. But, here,

nobody has to feel left out, since all can believe (with just as much evidence as anyone else) that the hero, deep down, feels exactly the way they would. ■

Rated R for violence.

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## BOOKS

[*Authentically Black: Essays for the Black Silent Majority*, John McWhorter, Gotham Books, 256 pages]

### *The Dual Mind of Black America*

By Elizabeth Wright

IN HIS SECOND BOOK, *Authentically Black: Essays for the Black Silent Majority*, John McWhorter goes further with his candid discussions on how many blacks, through self-defeating behavior, undermine their own ability to achieve. His work joins other studies that have helped to create a kind of genre for re-thinking aspects of the civil rights movement and exposing the excesses that have exemplified so much of the post-civil-rights period.

Drawing from a theme introduced by W.E.B. Du Bois of a "double consciousness" shared by blacks, McWhorter offers a new interpretation. A great many blacks, he claims, while privately taking responsibility for improving their lives, will, in public, dutifully take on the "mantle of victimhood." Such blacks feel obligated to propagate the notion that black people cannot rise without the assistance of whites. Thus, it becomes imperative to downplay the improving conditions for blacks to insure that whites do not abandon the black cause.

Even the black who knows through his own personal experience that his

progress is not fettered by whites assumes that whites are keeping other blacks down. This "Janus-faced double consciousness," claims McWhorter, where one reality is lived privately, while its opposite is promoted in public, has become a kind of affirmation of "authentic" blackness. This "authentic" black understands that all black success is accidental and just a fluke. He places no value on achievement in mainstream society, for to do so would be selling out.

While exposing the role that the post-civil-rights leadership has played in compounding the already existing sense of victimhood among blacks, McWhorter also acknowledges a sad truth. That is, "sitting at the core of the African-American soul" is the belief that blacks are inferior. He correctly views this disposition as the initiator of much of the vituperation directed toward whites. In this self-defensive mindset, it is comforting to believe that the continuing "racism" of whites prevents any upward social or economic movement.

McWhorter claims that for many blacks, this sense of inferiority is a deep-seated problem, and they are not being dishonest about their perception of racial barriers, no matter how incorrect that perception might be. Those blacks in prominent leadership positions, however, are fully conscious of the cynical political ploys they engage in when they rail against the system, charging it with "institutionalized racism." Their sole purpose is to play on the weaknesses of the vulnerable black masses.

Much of this book is a criticism of that tendency among blacks to keep whites locked into problems that should rightly be the purview of blacks. McWhorter says, "[W]hites have gone about as far as they will; the rest of the job is ours." Yet, after this revelation of what is basically a psychological problem among blacks, which one would think should be dealt with by blacks themselves, McWhorter proclaims whites still somehow responsible for taking action to mitigate this self-defeating strain.

Despite McWhorter's persistent disparagement of blacks who would keep whites "on the hook" and culpable for past, present, and future black problems, he engages in the customary practice of offering prescriptions for whites to follow. We are given a line-up of social programs that he views as detrimental to black progress and that, therefore, should be of concern to whites. For example, he urges whites not to sponsor an open-ended welfare program "that pays black women to have illegitimate children." Whites should not "dagoon underqualified blacks into positions beyond their abilities." And whites should not lower standards to accommodate blacks. Such approaches to solutions, claims McWhorter, deny blacks the opportunity to learn "how to compete."

Every one of the policies specified by McWhorter, and which he designates as negative, are vigorously supported by black politicians and civil rights leaders. Yet it is incumbent upon whites to navigate around the wills of blacks' chosen leaders and do what is "best for blacks." Might one ask the obvious question of why whites are more responsible for helping blacks attain self-sufficiency than those who supposedly represent black interests in the first place and daily fight for the special privileges that McWhorter maligns?

Although his laundry list of whites' obligations tends to be considerably shorter than, say, one drawn up by Jesse Jackson, it is a list, nevertheless. It seems clear that if whites fail to possess the prescience necessary to understand what blacks "truly need," or if, heaven forbid, whites simply don't give a damn about those needs, they remain on Professor McWhorter's "hook."

While giving the shaft to the historians of Afrocentric fantasies, who teach that just about nothing in the world was invented until an African conceived it, McWhorter does a fine job of outlining the "missing" history of American blacks. This is the story of ordinary people who created an economic base normal to the development of other ethnic groups.

This history of the successful businesses forged by blacks during those years, which were supposedly the "worst of times," has never been of any interest to the civil rights charlatans since it cannot be used in the service of perpetuating victimhood. The fact of blacks' successful entrepreneurial history is problematic for those who teach that blacks encountered restrictions, at all times and in all places, on their ability to prosper.

Although nascent and growing in this early period, the entrepreneurial spirit is evidenced in the thousands of businesses that were created in the North and South beginning in the late 19th century. One example is Chicago's Bronzeville. As the city industrialized in the late 19th century, blacks migrated from the South, eventually populating a stretch of blocks on the south side. By 1917, over 700 stores and firms had been established. There were doctors, lawyers, teachers, and other professionals. There also were theaters, several hotels, with the Hotel Brookmont billed as "The Finest Colored Hotel in the World." McWhorter describes Bronzeville as a "thriving civic community," where the leading churches, such as Olivet Baptist, with a membership of 10,000, focused on community uplift.

The primary purpose of my newsletter *Issues & Views* is to tell some of this remarkable story and to profile these

ordinary yet special people. The spirit that built Bronzeville also built other black enclaves, including districts in Durham, Birmingham, Nashville, Norfolk, and Tulsa. No one would deny the real limitations to expansion placed upon these businesses by legal factors (every region was different), but within the parameters in which they could operate, a great many blacks were able to leave legacies.

This is a history worth celebrating and none of it is buried. Over all these decades, any NAACP functionary could easily have collected this data with the aim of inspiring blacks to pick up where these industrious entrepreneurs left off. But for today's unworthy black leaders, history of this kind becomes interesting only when there is a sad tale attached to it, as in the case of Tulsa, where, in 1921, the successful black business district was razed during riots instigated by whites. Yet, the part of the Tulsa story that is ignored by those who bask in the details of the tragedy as "proof" of the white man's perfidy, is equally sad.

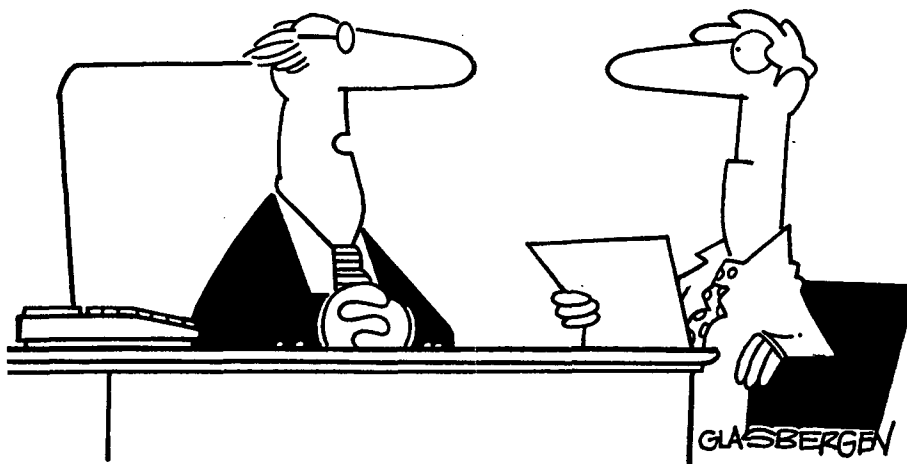
After the residents had recovered from the shock of the riots, with grit and determination blacks rebuilt the business district. We learn from historian John Sibley Butler that the second death of the district came at the hands of blacks themselves. "In the late 1950s and early 1960s, the enterprises of the once proud district began to suffer

because blacks won the right to spend their money freely anywhere in Tulsa." This loss of a consumer base, which also spelled the loss of capital, and the later intrusion of urban renewal, effectively put an end to the blossoming revival. As the clamor for integration escalated, money ceased to circulate in black communities, which guaranteed swift and sure economic decline. An important reason that the general history of this black success is shunted aside is obvious—there must never be a hint that there were some advantages to segregation.

John McWhorter by no means hints at such an heretical idea. In fact, much to the contrary, his world is one that is moving beyond the restricting racial confines of mere integration. It is clear from several glowing passages sprinkled throughout the book that in his ideal world, racial progress is confirmed when hearing ebonics spoken by young white women, wrapped around such words as "dude" and "bitch," or overhearing the friendly banter of Filipino teenagers as they call one another "nigger." Progress is a deracinated amalgam of peoples, who accept the "endless waves of miscegenation" and the inevitable hybridism (his word).

Returning to his key discussion, McWhorter offers scorn for those in academia who would lower the bar of admission in their quest for "diversity." He intones, "White guilt is a dangerous and addictive drug," in addition to being "a craven, disingenuous and destructive canard" that is antithetical to black excellence.

He also takes on Afrocentrists like Randall Robinson, who call for American blacks to find their identity and cultural base in Africa, a vast continent of hundreds of disparate regions where over a thousand languages are spoken, with which blacks have no familiarity at all. On the subject of reparations, dear to the heart of Robinson, whose book is considered by reparations advocates to be the definitive text on the subject, McWhorter claims that blacks already



"Yes, I earn 100 times more than the average employee. That's part of our corporate diversity"



have reparations. They're called welfare, set-asides, affirmative action, college grants, etc.

It should be made clear that McWhorter is against affirmative action only in education because he believes that lowering educational standards creates a disincentive for blacks to succeed. Although for much of his book, one could get the impression that he supports a universal ban on affirmative action and special preferences in principle, such is not the case. He offers a sketch of what might be his plan for reparations. In an imaginary case where two candidates were "equally qualified," he would, "... propose that Affirmative Action policies ... be imposed in businesses where subtle racism can still slow promotion." And, he continues, "If it were 1966, I would have universities practice racial preferences as well ... for the sake of a greater good." But today, he claims, such an approach is "outdated."

Prior to this clarification of his position, while reading his many statements of opposition to current affirmative action policies, I had wondered if McWhorter had any objections to these biased laws on the basis of their inherent unfairness. I soon got the message that the only negative rests in what he perceives to be the damaging effects of such policies. "Is it good for the blacks?" he seems to be silently asking on every page. He does not care about the constitutional implications of university policies that might reject qualified non-blacks, as in the case of the University of Michigan.

From McWhorter's perspective, whites are not expected to express dissident opinions on race, or show disrespect for what he calls the "civil rights revolution." And he more than implies that he sees nothing wrong with punishments for some forms of verbal dissent.

According to McWhorter, carrying on the "civil rights revolution" must still be foremost in every legislator's agenda. Woe to that council member whose constituency insists that he concentrate on priorities other than the

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"needs" of blacks. Any legislator who fails to give top priority to the ongoing "revolution" is "not fit" to serve in a legislative body.

In this book, McWhorter takes on a lot of hot button issues and with each one he makes his case without flinching. What makes his book of value is his forthright analysis of the self-defeating attitudes and behavior that continue to hobble a great many blacks. His inside knowledge and candor make this a necessary book to add to the growing library of works that deal with this particular aspect of America's enduring entanglement with race. ■

*Elizabeth Wright is the editor of Issues & Views.*

[*Defying Hitler: A Memoir, Sebastian Haffner, Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 272 pages*]

## Story of a German

By Franz M. Oppenheimer

SEBASTIAN HAFFNER WAS vaccinated against nationalism and chauvinism on the day the armistice was announced at the end of the First World War, when he was 14 years old. For four years he had feasted daily on the communiqués issued by the Supreme Command, from which he had concluded that victory was certain. For a whole day, he wandered through the streets of Berlin, without a thought for mealtimes, almost in a daze. And from then on he looked at the happenings in the Fatherland with the detachment of a disengaged historian. As he does throughout his book, he makes us forget that we are not eyewitnesses. We shop during the great inflation until the day the Reichsmark was worth one billion U.S. dollars and the Reichsbank stopped issuing currency because it could not print bills fast enough, and we breathe freely again and

go to dances during the suddenly quite normal period from 1926 to 1929, when there was calm enough to fall in love. But even then Haffner never stops following the moves of an obscure Adolf Hitler, whose demonic nature and hypnotic impact he had recognized when the media and the vast majority of Germans had stopped taking notice of him.

The original German title of his memoir, *Geschichte eines Deutschen* [*Story of a German*], is even more fitting than *Defying Hitler*, for, as we have seen, Sebastian Haffner was in many ways an exemplar of an unspotted German's life during the last century. He was born in Berlin in 1907 and died after having returned to Germany in 1954 as correspondent for the London *Observer* after some sixteen years as an exile in England, where he had emigrated in 1938. Unlike other emigrants, he left the Fatherland not because he belonged to a category of people persecuted in the Third Reich for having "non-Aryan" ancestry or for being a member of a left-wing party but because he could not stand the Nazi regime.

The most telling passage evidencing this repulsion seems to have been written as an off-hand observation: "Besides, ... his [Hitler's] personal appearance was thoroughly repellent—the pimp's forelock, the hoodlum's elegance, the Viennese suburban accent, the interminable speechifying, the epileptic behavior ..."

Haffner's reaction illustrates the passionately personal nature of his opinions. If Hitler's repellent impact had been universal, his conquest of Munich society when he was an unemployed nobody and the way he charmed such foreigners as Charles Lindberg, the Prince of Wales, Lord Rothermere, and the expatriates among Winifred Wagner's circle in Bayreuth would have been unthinkable.

Though, as in this and a few other instances, Haffner's passion may mislead some readers, the same passion makes his autobiography compelling. The literature on Hitler, his rise to power, and the impact of his government on

Germany and Germans is profuse, and I have read more of it than a delicate stomach could wish. The facts have been told and retold, and Haffner does not add any new ones. But nothing else that I have read faces us as vividly as *Defying Hitler* not only with the objective changes in the behavior of Germans in the Third Reich but also with the degeneration of their psyche.

After having conceded that all historical events, and particularly those of the turbulent years after the First World War "leave their traces," Haffner writes, "the important difference" was that "everything [before 1933] passed by and over us and excited us and killed this or that one or impoverished someone, but it faced nobody with making ultimate decisions of conscience. [Before then] the innermost sphere of life remained untouched ... one remained oneself. Nobody who voluntarily or resistingly fell into the clutches of the Third Reich can honestly say that of himself." And, more specifically, Haffner castigates how decent Germans, in fear, reacted to the tales of horror leaking out from the early concentration camps: "Do be careful, Herr Nachbar. Do you know what happened to Herr X?" No open revolt, not even careless private remarks.

Haffner adds something by which I, who had lived through the early Hitler years in Germany, had been struck only after having lived in the United States for a few weeks: one was at the same time occupied and distracted by "an unbroken sequence of feasts, celebrations and days of 'National Dedication' that had started even before the final election that had opened the door for Hitler with a colossal celebration of the expected victory, 'the Day of the Nation's Rise' of March 4: mammoth parades and fireworks, drums, bands and flags over all of Germany, 'Hitler' sounding out of thousands of loudspeakers, solemn oaths ..."

More generally, coming to New York in 1937, I was not only struck by the absence of anything even remotely comparable to those particular Nazi goings-on but also by the absence of

any obvious manifestation of politics in the daily landscape. German life even before Hitler's coming to power had been obsessed with politics; there were constant elections, political diatribes on every billboard, Nazi storm troopers and their democratic and communist counterparts marching and demonstrating in the streets, political marching songs, the old-time military band music of the Nazis, and the revolutionary songs of the Communists with their newfangled wind instruments. One just could not get away from all that sound and fury.

**THE GERMAN OFFICER CLASS, WHO, INDIVIDUALLY WERE HONORABLE MEN AND GOOD CHRISTIANS COULD, AND SHOULD, HAVE MADE AN END TO THE THIRD REICH AS SOON AS ITS CRIMINALITY HAD BECOME SELF-EVIDENT.**

On the other hand, Haffner emphasizes that for quite a while many areas of daily and professional life remained undisturbed. Thus, Haffner, after having completed his study of law, spent the required practical year as a law clerk with an appellate court. A Jewish judge continued to sit for quite a while until he was banned to a provincial court (nobody could yet have dreamed of an Auschwitz) and replaced by a dashing young Nazi, who reminded his new dignified judicial colleagues that "a new wind was blowing," and that "the old law of paragraphs (of the Codes) had to give way to" a new law "reflecting the will of the Fuehrer."

Until the outbreak of war, and even longer, the main difference between Hitler's Germany and the later Soviet East Germany was that the lives of ordinary people were left largely undisturbed. The owner of the tobacco shop could continue to sell his cigarettes, the barber to give his haircuts.

Haffner's judgment on his (and my) compatriots, "folk comrades" the Nazis called them, is severe, though he thinks them "decent." He is even more devastating on the Social Democrats. He speaks of the Germans' "doltishness,"

their inability to enjoy life and their lack of a sense of humor (making an exception only for Bavarians and Rhinelanders) and "their basic lack of talent for a democratic way of governing." And who will not think of Gerhard Schroeder when he reads, "The Germans as a nation are unreliable, soft and without integrity"? And he pictures the Social Democrats in the Reichstag, not just voting to give Hitler unlimited powers for an unlimited time, but also crowning that vote by participating after it in raising their arms in the Hitlerian "German greeting" and singing the "Horst Wessel

Song." Nor does Haffner forget to mention that the most prominent Social Democrat, the Premier of Prussia, drove, on the day before the elections of March 1933, to Switzerland, where he had "prudently bought a house."

The German officer class, who, individually were honorable men and good Christians could, and should, have made an end to the Third Reich as soon as its criminality had become self-evident, that is on the 30th of June 1934, when

Hitler declared himself "the supreme judge" of the nation and had murdered hundreds of people whom he considered potential threats. Haffner rightly blames the officers of the military, most of them noblemen, who, at that time still had a virtual monopoly on arms, for not taking over the government then and ending the Hitlerian nightmare. He notes that they had always shown great courage in war but had no civic courage and that their very duty to stay out of politics paralyzed their inclination to revolt. (This characteristic of Germans generally had already been deplored by Bismarck.) But Haffner concedes later in the book that the nobility redeemed itself by the attempted putsch of July 1944, for which many of them paid with their lives.

Even a long review cannot do full justice to this magnificent book. Much remains to be said about Haffner's insight into the Weimar Republic, into the damage done by the Nazis to the German language, his assessment of Bruening and Rathenau, his private life, and the loving portrait of his father—a patriotic appellate judge agonized by the Nazi revolution. Anyone who wishes to understand modern German history must read it. ■

*Franz M. Oppenheimer is an attorney in Washington, D.C*



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# Perfidious Albion

If you think comedy is dead, take a trip to that filthy, depressing, and lawless place I wrote about last column. Yes, I'm talking once again about Britain, where

the famed Scotland Yard has just launched an investigation that could land me in jail for two years.

My crime? In a *Spectator* column last month I wrote that violent criminals in London and other big cities in the north of England were mostly black thugs that belonged to gangs. Here is the *Independent* newspaper reporting on the crime of the century and with a very straight face: "The prospect of a two-year stretch in jail looms for the Greek playboy and columnist. Taki and the *Spectator* are being investigated by Scotland Yard over an article he wrote on January 11. The investigation was triggered by a complaint from Peter Herbert, a lawyer and member of the Metropolitan Police Authority. The Yard's Diversity Directorate will assess whether the piece incites racial hatred and thereby breaks the Public Order Act, for which the maximum sentence is two years." The *Independent*, of course, is anything but independent. It is a slave to politically correct thought. Many British journalists are not only on the take, they will murder a reputation quicker than you can say Rupert Murdoch.

Journalists, I would have thought, are supposed to safeguard free speech. After all, that's how we make our living. Not the Brits. Consumed by class envy and full of malice, they piled on as soon as they got the news. The tone of the article made me out to be almost a worse person than the killers of those two innocent girls. That's par for the course.

The reason I wrote the offending col-

umn was very simple. On New Year's Eve, two young black girls were killed when they were caught in the crossfire of two rival gangs. The brother of one of the girls was a gang member, ergo the gunfire. Now although the newspapers were full of columns by outraged pundits, the fact that the perpetrators were members of a totally black gang was somehow overlooked. Worse, the area where the killings took place was a no-go area for white people, another fact overlooked by reporters and pundits. Here are some more unpleasant truths: violent crime has skyrocketed in Britain, mostly committed by young, West Indian, unemployed youths. Politically correct newspapers have been following government guidelines for years in not mentioning the color of people committing these crimes.

**THE FAMED SCOTLAND YARD HAS JUST LAUNCHED AN INVESTIGATION THAT COULD LAND ME IN JAIL FOR TWO YEARS.**

If memory serves, in my article I mentioned that another columnist, one Melanie Phillips writing in the *Daily Mail*, had insisted that these gangs of "disaffected young people" suffered from lack of self-esteem and came from underprivileged backgrounds. (Phillips is no liberal, but has fallen into the PC trap). Well, I wrote, I remember millions of people who lost everything during the war, had very low self-esteem and absolutely no background, yet managed to live use-

ful and law-abiding lives. This, of course, is anathema to the new breed of coercive European bureaucrooks striving to alter our culture and control our behavior and our thoughts. It is this persistent form of untruthfulness that makes political correctness so poisonous. It's about pretending that things are different from what they are. It means adjusting what you say to what you think ought to be true, not what you actually know to be true.

My friend and colleague George Szamuely was outraged when he read the *Independent's* description of yours truly, but he believes it's government-inspired. I am against the coming war, against Tony Blair, and against big government. Why not shut the Greek pest up? And what better way of doing it than by having Scotland Yard's Diversity Directorate decide that I incited racial hatred and thereby broke the Public Order Act. (I was under the mistaken impression that the Public Order Act punished people who went around

yelling fire in crowded movie houses). Perfidious Albion indeed.

Actually, I am not a conspiracy theorist, and I think it is an effort by the PC police not only to throttle free speech, but to warn other writers to toe the line. What really made me laugh was the sheer envy of the hack who wrote the story. He brought in the politically incorrect things I have written in my lifetime—and there are hundreds—but like most English hacks, he got many facts

wrong because he was obviously much too lazy to read his own copy.

The worst charge against me was, "When building a new house he declared that he would name it Palazzo Pinochet, after the Chilean dictator. General Franco is another of his heroes ..." (That he got right). Another allegation was that my wife is a Serene Highness and that my fortune is inherited. (Meant to incite class warfare, but I'm rather proud of being married to a princess and having got it the old fashioned way).

I must admit that I've never been very popular with the press. This was pay-back. William Kristol, a man I've never met because we don't exactly run in the same circles, has described me as "loathsome." I agree with him. If I sold myself to the highest bidder as he does, I would hate someone like me who cannot be bought. Just before Christmas, one Lloyd Grove, a gossip columnist for the *Washington Post*, wrote an item that was totally false, and I have sixty people who were present as my witnesses. (Many of them respected journalists and writers, unlike Grove.) Why attack the poor little rich Greek boy? Why not. Envy and the inability to do anything to my person drives these cheap hacks nuts.

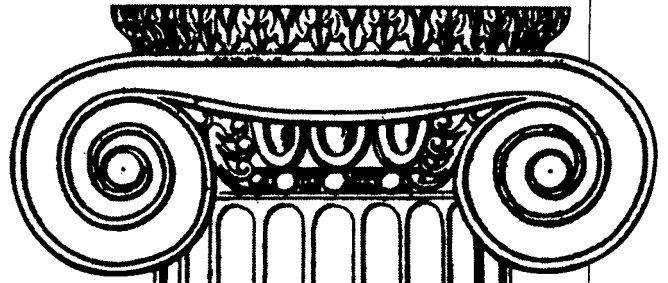
In the midst of all this the reason I wrote the column has been lost. I was driven by an overwhelming sense of moral indignation against the Blair government, which closes its eyes to the problem of black crime. (Mostly black on black).

Now the Blair government and Scotland Yard might be able to do something. But before the neocons begin to celebrate, I advise them to hold the champagne. I do not push around easily

and have the financial means to defend myself up to the highest court of law. I am an American citizen, and English law can shove it—especially the Yard's Diversity Directorate.

Let this be a lesson to all of us. As Sidney Hook wrote, "The cardinal sin, when we are looking for truth of fact or wisdom of policy, is refusal to discuss." The bureaucrooks who now run Europe will not discuss immigration or race because they know they will be shown to have been totally dishonest. It took the murder of Pim Fortuyn to convince the Dutch that Muslim immigrants brought intolerance with them and that since Europe and the United States are predominantly white societies rooted in Christianity, our responsibility to immigrants is to bring them into our culture—not the other way round. What those fat European politicians want—and the Brits are at the head—is to turn the continent into a Total State, a regime that will force people to be ashamed and frightened even to acknowledge the slightest difference between cultures. The power of political correctness has so corrupted the media that even the few conservative papers left are full of odious drivel about hate crimes, sex education for three-year-olds, and diversity.

Scotland Yard, instead of chasing crooks, has fired a shot across my bow. It is a laughable shot, almost as funny as the charge of anti-Semitism against Pat Buchanan. When the politically correct cannot win an argument, they charge racism, anti-Semitism, meat eating, cigarette smoking. Scotland Yard investigating whether or not I incited racial hatred is as absurd as Bill Clinton pretending to tell the truth. Stay tuned, as they say. ■



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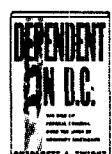
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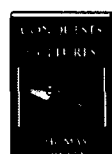
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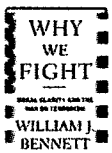
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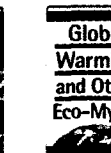
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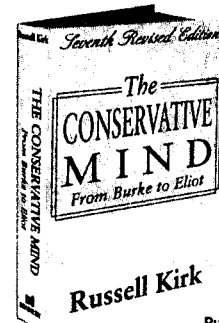
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